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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [762] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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595 in marriage to a second individual, on which she removes with her first husband to his habitation, and both herself and original companion are supported by him.

It will be seen that this quotation of Stewart's supports what has just been said regarding the *tuia* and the secondary mate.

584 595 The established relationship between *tuia* and *pekio* was somewhat complicated: A boy (A) and a girl (B) would be betrothed when children, thus becoming *tuia*. When they grew up, the woman might marry another man, who would then be called *ahana pekio* in relationship to both A and B. The affianced man might marry some other woman. She would be *vehine pekio* for both A and B. The two *tuia*, A and B, might never live together, but the man had a right to claim the woman at any time. The two *tuia* might be forced to come together by their relatives who had expended much wealth on the betrothal rites. The first child of the *vehine tuia*, no matter by what father, belonged to the *ahana tuia*, came to live with him, and took the position in his establishment of his first-born, even though the man might have had children already by another woman with whom he was living. The child was called *hamua*, first-born.

When a woman lived with several men at the same time, the first was her *ahana* if neither he nor she had been affianced to anyone; the second to come with her was *ahana pekio*. Similarly, when a man lived with several women, all taken after the first wife were *vehine pekio*.

Formal Betrothal and Marriage Rites

584 The making of *tuia*, or affiancing of offspring, was arranged sometimes before the birth of the children or during their early childhood. The betrothal of children was merely an antecedent stage of the whole process of binding two families or two tribes together by the formal marriage of representatives of each. Formal betrothal was made only between members of two tribes, never within one tribe. The main features of the rites associated with the making of *tuia* consisted in a series of feasts, the giving of presents on the part of both families to each other, and the recitation of their genealogies. In the description of the *pekio* institution, it has been shown already that the *tuia* in many cases never became permanently mated, but that the first child of the *tuia* woman belonged to the *tuia* man and was his first-born, rather than the child born of the woman with whom he had chosen to live. Similarly it was only the man or woman who had been formerly made *tuia* of one's daughter or son whom one called *hunona*.

584 585 The festivals and rites connected with formal betrothal and marriage of two scions of chiefly or wealthy families of different tribes were among the most elaborate of all public festivals in the Marquesas. (See Festivals.)

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These completed the unification of the two families through the marriage of a son and daughter, a process that had begun with the formalities surrounding the making of *tuia*. In fact, such alliances by marriage marked in the most thorough manner the alliance of tribes, for as a result of them all the people were made as one family or tribe. Hence, the great public importance and splendor of these rites.

Celibacy and Perverted Instincts

It is said that there were occasional celibates, both male and female. *Mahoi* or *mahu* were men who adopted the life of a woman, dressed in woman's garb, allowing their hair to grow long. They devoted themselves to all the activities and relationships of women rather than to those of men. Native informants told me that these men were not deformed physically, but that they merely preferred a woman's life and desired men. Dordillon gives the meaning of *mahoi* as sterile and of *enatà mahu io te fa'e* as "a man who scarcely goes out from his house." These celibates seem to have been few in the Marquesas.

DEATH

Mourning

As death approached and for some time following it, mourning was very violent on the part of women, consisting in a wailing chant, that may be characterized as an exaggerated, slow trill on the various vowel sounds made deep in the throat. Dordillon (8, p. 62) prints this wailing chant in the following way:

"Ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke, ke!
á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á, á,
é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é, é,
í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í, í,
ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó, ó,
ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú, ú,

This he calls *ue haaneinei (ue,* to weep; *haa nei nei,* make near). The vowel sound was sustained as long as the breath permitted. Sometimes between two vowels some words were inserted.

E te hakaiki e, e, e, e, ... e!—O chief!
Aia a tani ia oe! Umoi e mate! i, i, i, i . . . . i!—Here you are mourned! Do not die!
A pohue te hakaiki! o, o, o, o, ... o!—May the chief recover!
E te hakaiki, e, aia te hoia! u, u, u, u, ... u!—O chief!

This wailing is done at the time of death at the present day. It is entirely a histrionic performance. A woman usually goes through it a number of times, resting, smoking, talking, and laughing in between times, and

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

certain Atu Ona man. A message was sent first, bearing the proposal, which was accepted. The Ta'a Oa father then prepared the *fañ tapu*, or formal gift, that was always sent on this occasion. A great number of hogs were prepared and lashed on a large frame of poles. About sixty men from Ta'a Oa carried this to Atu Ona, singing the type of song called *vaka hoa* or *kouoo*, the verses of which always ended with a great shout (*"Via"*). This shout announced the arrival and could be heard all over the valley. The family in Atu Ona, to whom the *fañ tapu* was sent, then began singing their genealogy (*hahi*). Meantime the Atu Ona men had gathered on some platform or other high place, beside the road along which the *fata'a* would pass. As the bearers came along, singing their *vaka hoa*, all the Atu Ona men leapt down on top of the *fata'a*. If they did not succeed in making the Ta'a Oa men drop the litter in this way, they beat them with clubs until they had done so, after which there was a free-for-all scramble for the hogs, all of which were taken home by those who had been in waiting. The hogs were always tied on very securely, to make it difficult for the looters to make away with them. After this looting, which was the custom, the carriers of the litter proceeded empty-handed to the house of the waiting Atu Ona family, where they were given a feast. A month or so later, the Atu Ona family returned the compliment, sending a *fañ tapu*, exactly the same formalities and practices being gone through, it being the Ta'a Oa men this time, however, who had their chance to loot the bearers of the Atu Ona gift. This return of the *fañ tapu* (gift) completed the troth. In preparing the elaborate gift the whole family participated. Those formally betrothed by such an exchange of gifts were known as *tuia fañ tapu*.

The order of events in the matter of betrothal and marriage is described as follows by Père Siméon (7): first, the betrothal when the children were very young; then, when the youth desired his wife, his going to her house, examing her in the presence of her parents, eating out of the family *popoi* bowl with her relatives, and sleeping with her on the family bed-space with the rest of his new relatives. After this, according to Père Siméon, was the the bringing of gifts to the young couple, the *ko'ina hunono*, and the exchange of gifts by the parents. Subsequently the young couple could live where they wished.

MARRIAGE FESTIVALS

The elaborate marriage festivals were celebrated only by families of wealth. These great festivals, called *ko'ina hunono*, were among the most elaborate, being second only to the memorial festivals, marking as they did the accomplishment of alliances between tribes and being the rites

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this.

One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fañ tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fañ me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that [184 586] there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the second crop, called *kato'o* or *ki'ihi*, might be used for *popoi* for this feast. When the pigs and the *feikai mei pa'a* (*feikai*, grease; *mei pa'a*, ripe breadfruit) had been prepared in the special house, the final preparations for the feast were made. The food was wrapped up in little parcels and distributed everywhere, hung up in the tops of trees, hidden all about, inside, under, and on top of the sleeping house. All the valuable of the family were taken out and secreted, as everything was demolished in the scramble for the food that was to follow. All the time the work of preparing the food was proceeding, the women of the boy's family chanted their genealogies (*hahi*). There were no *tapu* connected with the work. As many as ten great ovens would be made, half the food prepared being for the workers. Offerings of food, called *hai hei*, were also sent to the future son-in-law from the valley of the girl.

The *ko'ina hunona* was then celebrated. All the people from Ta'a Oa set out in advance of the family of the girl. They and the Atu Ona people raided the house of the boy where the food was concealed—in searching for the food they demolished everything.

The family of the girl then arrived bringing gifts, consisting of ornaments, and were followed by the girl, who came with her parents and *pahupahu* (maternal uncles and paternal aunts). As they approached the house of the boy's father, the maternal uncles and paternal aunts (*pahupahu*) carried the girl. They bore a long loin cloth consisting of a strip of *hiapo* (sacred cloth made of banyan bark, reddish brown in color) on their heads. An uncle preceded with the girl on his shoulders, the others following behind, carrying on their heads the long *hiapo*. Those carrying the girl and her *hiapo*[14] were met by the maternal uncles and paternal aunts of the boy carrying him and his long loin cloth in the same way. The two parties exchanged the boy and the girl. Each party then walked under the loin cloth carried by the other. Both parties then made a circuit, in procession, while the genealogies of both families were chanted. This completed the formalities of marriage. Other festivities (*ko'ina hunona*) followed, however, which repeated the same rite.

Six months or so later the paternal aunts of the boy would make a second *ko'ina hunona* for the boy, at which exactly the same ritual was gone through. It took place at the house of the richest sister, the others helping. Each *ko'ina hunona* for the boy was reciprocated by one for the girl by her parents, when everything was done in just the same way, except that the preparations were made by the girl's relatives at her father's house and the boy's family brought the gifts. The boy's family must,

[14] It was explained that this was white cloth. The use of the term *hiapo* here is probably incorrect; it should be *uta*. *Hiapo* is sometimes loosely applied to loin cloths in general.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'inu* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take [516] canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated [562] at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted.

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people. It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get possession of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

abode with them. The young lovers live together for a while, on the most intimate footing; and if, at the termination of that period, they still are attached to each other, the marriage is concluded, by their quitting the paternal house, and removing to one of their own. 1804. May.

In rich families, every woman has two husbands; of whom one may be called the assistant husband. This last, when the other is at home, is nothing more than the head servant of the house; but, in case of absence, exercises all the rights of matrimony, and is also obliged to attend his lady wherever she goes. It happens sometimes, that the subordinate partner is chosen after marriage; but in general two men present themselves to the same woman, who, if she approves their addresses, appoints one for the real husband, and the other as his auxiliary: the auxiliary is generally poor, but handsome and well-made.

It is no disgrace here, if a woman be brought to bed on the very day of her marriage; the child is still legitimate: indeed there is no such thing known as illegitimacy. Divorces take place with as little ceremony as the nuptial rites are performed.

A man may take another wife, and a woman another husband, whenever they find it mutually convenient to do so. Though near relations are forbidden to marry, it sometimes happens, that a father lives with his daughter, and a brother with his sister. Some years ago an instance occurred of a mother cohabiting with her son, but it was regarded with horror; which shows that, even among savages, the rights of maternity are respected above all others. On the birth of a child, the ceremony is observed of

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Beyond these distinguishing marks, living informants make

no mention of the badges described

by early visitors, such as the *mata-komoe* distinguishing a hero (10, Pl. VIII, fig. 9; p. XV), the marks of high birth put upon the arms of women in families of chiefs (18, p. 222-223), the tattooed right hand and left foot of women as a sign of wedlock (13, p. 221-222). Mr. Linton was told that only chiefs had their feet tattooed; but this is not borne out in the late practice of the art nor corroborated by other informants. The confusion probably arises either from the distinguishing chiefly marks being upon the ankle, or from the custom of tattooing the body of the *opou* from the feet up, contrary-wise to that of the *ka'ioi*.

The only distinguishing feature of the tattooing of a *ka'ioi*, as reported today, is the order in which the designs were put on, the face being decorated first. The reason assigned by a Pua Ma'u informant for the custom of beginning with the feet of the *opou* was that the face if tattooed first was liable to become infected and cause a stoppage of the operation. It is possible that the reverse order in the case of the *ka'ioi* was the result of indifference as to their fortunes, but it is also possible that there was here a fundamental class distinction. There is no proof today that the work was not of the same pattern as that of the *opou*, though Melville thought he distinguished a difference in the quality of the work put upon "inferior natives," their designs appearing to him like daubs of a house-painter's brush (13, p. 250).

Berchon says that tattooing was an obligation rather than a mark of distinction for women, that the right hand must be tattooed by the age of twelve so that it might be used in making *popoi*, in making *pakoko* (the circular movement of two fingers in taking up *popoi* to eat it) and in rubbing dead bodies with coconut oil (1, p. 114-115). Natives today say that an untattooed hand could not make *popoi* nor eat it from the same bowl as a tattooed hand, that a tattooed man could not eat with a woman, and that a man with all his designs finished could not eat with a man whose designs were unfinished; but any reason for these requisites beyond their being "pretty" is unknown. Women would not marry untattooed men, probably because the decoration represented either wealth, endurance of pain, style, or all three.

A special effort was made to find some trace of banqueting societies distinguished by marks tattooed on the chest, which Krusenstern, Langsdorff, and Melville[5] describe (8, p. 159-160; 10, p. 121-122; 12, p. 50-51); but no memory of anything in the nature of such fraternal orders supported by the chief and tattooed gratis is discoverable today. With Berchon's con-

[5] All of the detailed information of Krusenstern and Langsdorff came from two white sailors living among the natives, whose accounts are in many instances unmistakably erroneous and exaggerated. It would not surprise me in the least if

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/63 cont./ 554 837 [123]
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585 833
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identified by informants were: 585 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/65 cont./ 192

haka ka'aka -- "in the gecko-manner" (haka na'ana = Hiva Oa dialect). 585 833

2. patu hope - "stick the buttocks" - female kneels or bends over, and introduction of the penis is made from behind. Also known as titoi ihoraue - horse intercourse - or titoi peto - dog intercourse.
3. haka noho - "sitting style" - in which the female sits astride the male's lap, facing him.
4. haka pe'e - Male is supine, female sits astride.
5. titoi puta keo - coitus in ano.
6. titoi - normal ventral-ventral position.

In addition to these terms, indicating specific positions, there are a large number of synonyms used to refer to the sex act itself. Many are used in "polite" company, others used among males as a sort of quasi-secret slang, others are simply slang, near the level of our Anglo-Saxon four-letter words. 192 195 585 833

Polite synonyms:

ke'u	play
piki	mount
hano	get
hana hau	
hau	bad act or work
hana he'o	hard act or work

/66/

hana animara	animal act (contact
mo'e	sleep

Male Slang:

soana	(Samoan = to sit ?)
tiko	a recent Marquesan innovation
te kio'e'i te 'ua ma	the rat in the ma pit

More Commonly Used Slang:

ve'o	stab or impale
titoi	copulate
heko	copulate or rut

The last terms listed are those most commonly used among members of one sex, but seldom used before members

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of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization.

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Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited above.

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The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of a sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which